3: Simson --385 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 157, 181, 177

"The tribe or family of the Jívaros is a large one, and one of the most distinguished, independent, and warlike in South America. They alike withstood the attacks of the Jucas and the Spaniards, burning the once famed cities of Logroño and Mendoza, and massacring all the male inhabitants who did not succeed in making their escape; and even to this day they maintain the most thorough independence. The missions at Macas and Gualaquiza have as yet produced no practical results, nor obtained any authority over the Indians. A Jesuit padre, who had resided three years at Gualaquiza amongst them, informed me that he had found it impossible to make any progress with them; and more than once his life was personally threatened. During these three years twenty nine whites (i.e., half-caste traders) were killed in the neighbourhood of Gualaquiza."

3: Simoom--390 — [No date] 1960 — Rivers
116, 461, 157

"They [KS: the Canoles] are lazy workers; and the young men, much after the fashion of more civilised communities, given up to dandyism, drink and trivial loquacity. All are excessively curious, and some even coolly placed their hands in my pockets to find out of what the contents consisted. However, some of the old and more serious men are quite steady-going members of society, as a rule; but even these also, on occasion, are fond of their little excesses."

12: Rivet--338 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 177

A characteristic common to all these tribes is their love of independence; the result being that these Indians, armed with simple lances of wood, located at the very gates of the civilized and Christian world, have kept all their purity of race and all their originality until the beginning of the twentieth century. Protected by impenetrable forests, where tropical nature seems to take pleasure in accumulating obstacles against the entrance of the invader, these passionate lovers of liberty have resisted with equal success the numerous assaults made on them by the Spaniards and missionaries, all the attempts of conquests and all the attempts at conversion, as we shall now see in studying their past.

12: Rivet--361[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 181

The Jíbaro does not have a submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, like the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is lively, the look bold, the face mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animated, their speech easy and assured. Unhappily this is not the appearance of the savage when he comes to spend a few days in the cities of the inter-Andean valley. Dulled by alcohol, tired out from the trip, painfully affected by the cold climate of the Sierra, usually clothed with indescribable faded finery, he takes on a grotesque appearance and loses his original character and his proud carriage, but as I have described him, so one finds him in the forests, in the midst of virgin nature, whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage.

12: Rivet--613-614 (no date) 1907
116, 621, 157, 164

In spite of their apparent isolation the Jívaro live socially; but up to the present time they have put up great resistance against grouping themselves in villages. It must be said that this repugnance can be explained not only by the desire for independence which is so well developed in them, but also by the fear of the disease brought in by [614] the whites, especially smallpox which breaks out in fatal epidemics in Indian groups.

13: Rivet--255
116, 157, 183

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

Besides these traits of character which make the Jíbaro rather agreeable, he has others which make him a really dangerous being. Crafty and changeable, incapable of attachment, he never hesitates at treachery. Assassinations are not rare in Jíbaro country. The descendants of the fierce assailants of Logroño and Sevilla de Oro are worthy of their ancestors. The traveller whom they welcome with joy perhaps will fall under their lances some hours later. The missionaries have many times experienced their duplicity. One of them tells how on his return from Canelos he was abandoned one evening on the bank of the river, without shelter, without food, without defense in the middle of the virgin forest, by the very Indians who the same morning had spontaneously and enthusiastically offered to accompany him to Baños (1).

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1. Voyage d'exploration chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit., page 257.

13: Rivet--255 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Very vindictive, the savage never forgets an injury, no matter how trifling, and he is only satisfied when he has achieved a brilliant revenge. We have seen that this feeling brings about a permanent state of these bloody wars between tribes which endanger the future of the race.

According to the standards of the Whites, the Jîbaro is lazy, but perhaps the judgment is too severe; it is true the men leave the hardest work to the women, but custom demands it. He cannot tie himself down to a regular job, but in the first place his independent nature refuses to accept the least subjection, and on the other hand, the savage does not see the need of increasing a well-being which satisfies him; he works only when he wishes to acquire some desirable object (gun, ax, brandy); otherwise, surrounded by a prodigal nature, in a climate of unequalled mildness, he has nothing to fear from hunger or cold, and he does not have to worry about a future which is assured in advance. Therefore, from his point of view, the Jîbaro has reason for not working. In addition, we have seen that when the occasion arises he knows how to prove himself enduring and resistant and to put to work all his moral energy and physical vigor.

"Very curious are the ceremonial conversations (or perhaps, more correctly, monologues) which these Indians exchange, as a preliminary to any natural talk, whenever and wherever they meet. The speaker never looks at the individual addressed but allows his eyes to wander all around with an odd air of nonchalance; while the other accents the oration, as it were, by the constant utterance of deep-throated grunts or short, sharp, rapidly repeated ejaculations, translatable, according to one authority, (26) by the Spanish expressions sí, no, bueno, como no, así es. And every now and then the hearer expectorates in a manner suggestive of contempt, disgust, or defiance, or indulges in that peculiar clicking of the tongue habitual, it would seem, to all Amazonian tribes, whatever the action may denote. (27) The voice in these effusions is always pitched very low, so that

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"26. The Rev. Father Enrique Vacas Galindo, O.P., in his work 'Nankijukima,' published at Ambato, Ecuador, in 1895. The title is the name of a Jíbaro chief of whom the author writes.

27. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 94; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 249."

it acquires a ventral timbre, and the hand, with fingers bent in toward the palm, is frequently held in front of the mouth, presumably for acoustic effect. As the harangue proceeds it gathers in strength and vehemence of delivery like the crescendo of a swiftly oncoming storm, while apt emotional gestures and pose lend to the performance a fitting dramatic touch. Then the other holds forth in like manner, and, if several be present, each one has his turn. I listened to many of these extraordinary and really impressive declamations, but never succeeded in learning anything as to their subject or import....

A considerable time was thus consumed at the house which we were now visiting. The drinking of chicha followed, and after a decent interval, during which I distributed some presents of gunpowder and shot, small mirrors, beads, and other trifles, we took our departure."

20: Dyott-154-155 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 512, 157

"By six o'clock the whole family was astir. Kuashu and his two youngest boys, Wesuma and Humbikti, formed and animated group in the centre of the house, talking over plans for the morning. Mihanda, the eldest son, did not join in the conversation. He seemed a surly sort of fellow, for he sat on his rack staring at the floor in a peculiarly detached way as if he had no interest in what was going [155] on about him. His wife, Secouta, equally absorbed, crouched by the fire with her small son Katani alongside of her. The latter was a nice little child seven or eight years old, naked as the day he was born, with a clean brown skin and dark hair falling over his shoulders. He squatted on his haunches, like a rabbit sitting up in the grass, and made quite an attractive picture."

20: Dyott--159-160 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 157

"The Shuaro is an extremely proud individual. He delights in a life of the most complete freedom imaginable. Kuashu owed no allegiance to anyone, neither did anyone [160] kow-tow to him. He was head of his own establishment, but his authority extended no furthur. Each house and its inmates made up a small community to itself, living by itself and without any connection with any other household. There were no great chiefs in the neighbourhood. Every man did exactly as he pleased, and only in times of war would an individual be picked out to lead the fighting forces. With the cessation of hostilities, this man's authority would likewise cease."

21: Davar--360 (no date) 1934 Jivaro
136, 727, 157

"To have strayed into the regions inhabited by these primitive occupants of the Amazon basin was no small piece of good fortune for us. I was counting upon securing a shrunken head or two by way of an interesting trophy and to witness, if chance permitted, the ceremony, or learn from the natives the secrets of this curious process which is as much a mystery to the civilised world, as the mumifying process used by the Egyptians to preserve the mortal remains of their dead.

But the Jivaro Indian cannot be induced to part with his secrets at any cost. He is extremely tenacious in holding to silence as regards this process, and guards his secrets as he would his life. Because of this, no explorer or traveller of the civilized world has, as far as I know, managed to learn the details of process, and notwithstanding the assertions of Dr. Rafael Karstein to the contrary, I seriously doubt if there is a single living being in the civilised world, who knows exactly what these shrinking ingredients consist of."

25: Vigna--38 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 157

The woman is a slave. She has no control over the education of the children who from an early age become their own masters and are free to direct their own liberty. Because of the enormous distance between family and family, and the difficult and dangerous journeys, the Jíbaro is an egocentric type par excellence.

In practice, the Jíbaro does not readily abandon a present possession, even the most low and abject, which he may obtain hic et nunc, for a future good promised verbally. Also, he does not easily forget an injury or a punishment threatened for the future, which in any contingency he does not generally take into account.

26: Brüning--71 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 201, 157, 195

When talking and laughing the Indians frequently keep the hollow of their hand in front of the mouth, as may be seen in Illustration number seven (two Indians in the group to the right). If the conversation becomes animated, then they spit frequently in between.

Very strange are the long monologues or prayers (whatever you may call them) which the Indians say in the morning. These are recited very quickly and in a tone which marks a departure from the ordinary tone of conversation. On these morningoccasions, too, they spit frequently and stamp their feet on the ground from time to time (see Nankijukima 75).

They emit a softly pronounced drawling gwa when they are amazed at something.

32:Hanner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common spirits include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the spirit seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a great deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the spirit instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears."

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his home, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general way. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to be accused of other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.* However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a compulsion desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The men women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old alike, tells of his arutam leaves his body however, to roam again the forest as a wind, the arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[20] The departing arutam souls reportedly

/332 cont./

preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies, disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotiations, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preacher: all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage is kept holy, in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes residence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property, he must

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.